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MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1919

WHOLE No. 338

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VOL. XII

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No. 24

## ENGLISH LITERATURE AND THE LATIN CLASSICS

(Concluded from page 179)

The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems. By Charles Grosvenor Osgood. Yale Studies in English, VIII. New York: Henry Holt and Company (1900). Pp. lxxxv + 113. \$1.00.

Classical Mythology in Shakespeare. By Robert Kilburn Root. Yale Studies in English, XIX. New York: Henry Holt and Company (1903). Pp. ii + 134. \$1.00.

The Classical Influence in English Literature in the Nineteenth Century and Other Essays and Notes. By William Chislett, Jr. Boston: The Stratford Company (1918). Pp. xv + 150. \$1.00.

Though published so long ago, Professor Osgood's<sup>1</sup> monograph may be considered briefly here. The book falls into the following parts: Introduction, pp. ix-lxxxv; The Sources of Milton's Classical Mythology, 1-87; Index of Authors, 91-93; Index of Passages from Milton's Works, 94-105; Index of Mythological Names and Subjects, 106-111.

In the Introduction Professor Osgood first considers, very briefly (ix-xiii), how Homer, Plato, Plutarch, etc., handled the mythology. Poets, such as Homer, Plato, and Vergil, who were religious in temperament and hence peculiarly sensitive to moral truth, treated the myths with reverence and imagination. Plato did not believe, literally, in the old religion. He saw, however, that some at least of the myths were plastic enough to become the vehicle of his teaching. In his hands mythology became symbolic and almost allegorical. An allegorical and naturalistic application of myth was made by Plutarch. Later the attempt was made to identify myths with early or sacred history, through euhemeristic interpretation, or to discover in them an allegorical form of Christian and moral truth. Here belong Eusebius and other Church fathers, as well as scientific writers of the Renaissance, such as Bacon and Bochart. When faith in the old religion had died, and "morality was by many regarded as inconvenient and unnecessary", the treatment of the myth became irreligious, non-moral. "As a diverting tale it admitted of imaginative treatment only". Here belong Horace and Ovid (xii).

<sup>1</sup>This monograph, and Professor Root's (see below) were presented, in whole or in part, as doctoral dissertations at Yale University. Both authors are now members of the Department of English at Princeton University; Professor Osgood is Chairman of the Department.

Can the myths "live with us a life in some degree as intimate as that which they lived with the ancients?", asks the author (xii-xiii).

Within the last five hundred years classical mythology has been partially revived, generally as a relic or a plaything. But whether it can again receive the inspiring power of revelation which it possessed for many of the ancients remains a question. The answer to such a question we may hope to find by a study of this element in the art of Milton.

The rest of the Introduction Professor Osgood devotes to a consideration of some of the principal facts revealed by an examination of the classical mythology in Milton's poems. Milton's methods of introducing such allusions are principally three.

(1) In a simile or comparison (xiv-xviii). The allusion may be as brief as a single epithet, as in e.g. "Typhoean rage" or "Atlantean shoulders"; often, however (xiv-xv)

Milton. . . masses classical allusions of this kind, piling them sometimes four or five deep, and obtaining by means of this accumulation an effect of great richness. . . . Or mythological allusions introduced for another purpose than comparison may occur in close connection with these passages.

This use of mythological matters in simile is, with few exceptions (which occur principally in *Comus*), peculiar to Milton's longer poems, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* (xvii), probably because (xviii) the subjects of the two epics offered so little opportunity for the incorporation of classical mythology within the story itself that, if the poems were to be enriched to any extent by means of pagan lore, it must be accomplished by the somewhat more remote method of simile and comparison.

(2) The second method consists in the incorporation of a myth or the ancient conception of a deity into a poetical setting of Milton's own conception. This method is exhibited in nearly all the poems, but particularly in the earlier and so-called minor poems (xviii-xxii).

(3) Milton's descriptions of nature are (xxiii) generally either mythological or touched with mythology. Especially is this true in descriptions of the dawn, of night, and of the progress of the sun and moon.

The discussion of this method occupies pages xxiii-xxx. The author then turns (xxx) to consider the value of the mythological element in Milton's art and "the true benefit of its influence upon him".

Mythology is "not the product of one man, possessing the marks of his peculiarities, but is the reflection of national character and ideas" (xxx). Hence, Milton's

mastery of classical mythology helped to counteract in him the marked tendency of his time, in which "the importance and development of individuality had become the importance and development of personal peculiarity" (xxx). Milton's poetry is thus, in the main, free from the conceits and curious figures from which much of the poetry of his time—now no longer read—suffered (xxxi-xxxv).

Another characteristic of Milton's treatment of classical mythology is set forth (xxxv), in a discussion of the description of celestial dawn at the beginning of Book 6 of *Paradise Lost*:

Taken as a whole, it is a beautiful synthesis, or fitting together, of three or four very distinct classical ideas. As we have seen, Homer and Ovid are united, these are joined to Hesiod, and the group is finished with a tradition common to classical poets. We have already noticed in the treatment of similes the tendency to accumulation or synthesis, and it occurs frequently in the use of mythology throughout Milton's poetry. In the description of Eden, Pan, the Graces and the Hours, Proserpina, Daphne, and Amalthea were all gathered to illustrate the beauty of the garden, like petals about the honeyed center of a flower. So also in the Second Book of *Paradise Lost*, the description of the terrors of Hell is reinforced by a reference to 'Typhoean rage' and by describing the death agony of Hercules, when, mad with pain, he slew his own companion. The infernal rivers are mentioned—hated Styx, Lethe, Acheron, Cocytus, 'named of lamentation loud', and Phlegethon, the torrent of flames. There also is the wretched Tantalus, together with Medusa and the other Gorgons, and Hydras and Chimeras dire. At the bounds of Hell are two monsters, the one, like Scylla, girt with wide Cerberian mouths, the other black as Night, and fierce as ten Furies. Here again the allusions are all arranged about one idea and focused upon it, thus emphasizing it and throwing it into relief.

Another characteristic (xl) is a certain width of range and sweep, which often. . . accompanies a synthesis of mythological legends; the myths seem to be transformed from their original state into something large and exalted. Milton seems to carry them into a larger universe, where through his poetic imagination and his sense of truth he expands and purges them, somewhat as Plato has done in the passage from the *Phaedrus* quoted near the beginning of our discussion.

Back of this synthesis and this range lie two conditions: (a) Milton's enormous learning; (b) "his inclusion of material, that is, his power of mastering it and making it subservient to the truths embodied in his poetry. The first qualification is extensive, the second intensive" (xli).

This leads to a discussion (xlii-xliii) of Milton's learning—his attainments and his preferences in reading. He derived most help from Homer, Hesiod, Vergil, and Ovid (xlii).

Hesiod, in proportion to the body of his poetry, probably furnished Milton with the greatest amount of material, and nearly all of this comes from the *Theogony*.

Of the *Iliad*, Books 1 (especially its closing episode), 2, 5, and 18 are the favorites; of the *Odyssey*, Books

8, 10, 11 are favorites. Books 1 and 6 of the *Aeneid* are used more than the other books of the poem; not infrequently, however, use is made of Books 3, 4, and 5. The *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* appealed to Milton more than Ovid's love-poetry. Every book of the *Metamorphoses*, except Book 12, is used; the first is employed most frequently (xlii). Euripides, Pindar, Theocritus, the Homeric Hymns, Pausanias, and Apollodorus are the next most important sources (xlii).

Milton has also drawn some of his mythology from Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato, the Orphic Hymns, and Apollonius of Rhodes; from Herodotus, Plutarch, Pliny, Diodorus, and Strabo; from Horace, Statius, Claudian, and the tragedies of Seneca. To these we may add, though the list will be by no means exhaustive, Cicero, Athenaeus, Hyginus, Aratus, Macrobius, Lucretius, and most of the minor poets of the empire.

Into the rest of this scholarly and suggestive introduction there is, unfortunately, not space to enter. We pass, then, to the second part of the book, entitled *The Sources* (87 pages of fine print). Here we have, in an alphabetical arrangement, a series of articles, Acheron, Achilles, Ades (=Hades), Adonis, Alcestis, Alcinoüs, etc., etc., each of which gives references to the passages in Milton where the person, place, or thing represented by the article is mentioned, and groups the passage or passages in ancient authors upon which Milton was drawing. Some of these articles are long: e.g. Apollo (8-13), Aurora (14-15), Chaos (21-22), Diana (28-29), Elysium (31-32), Fates (34-35), Jove (48-50), Muses (56-58), Naiads (58-60), Night (62-64), Nymphs (64-65), Orpheus (66-67), Pan (67-68), Saturn (74-75), Sleep (78-80).

The method adopted can be made fairly plain by the citation of one example.

*Paradise Lost* 9.13-17 runs as follows:

Sad task! yet argument  
Not less but more heroic than the wrath  
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued  
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage  
Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused;

This passage gives rise to two of Professor Osgood's articles, as follows (3, 83):

ACHILLES.—P.L. 9.15.

The subject of the *Iliad* is 'the wrath of Achilles, Peleus's son, the ruinous wrath that brought on the Achaeans woes innumerable' (Il. 1.1 f.) Il. 22 tells of Achilles' fight with Hector. Cf. 22.165 f.: <a line and a half of Greek are quoted>.

'Stern' is not a Homeric epithet of the hero. Vergil calls him 'immitis' (Aen. 1.34; 3.87).

TURNUS.—P.L. 9.17.

In the enumeration of great epic themes in P. L. 9. 15-19 occurs the rage of 'Turnus for Lavinia disespoused'. The story is told in Aen. 7-12. Latinus, whom Aeneas found reigning in Latium, had promised his daughter Lavinia to Turnus, but, warned by a dream, he made a final choice of Aeneas. A Fury, sent by Juno, aroused the rage of Turnus (7.413, 466), which was renewed in 12.1-2. The character of Turnus is fierce and intrepid throughout the struggle.



Dr. Root's dissertation falls into these parts: Part I (1-116), consisting of Introduction (1-24), Classical Mythology in Shakespeare (29-116;=the second division of Professor Osgood's book: see above); Part Second (119-134), The Mythology of the Several Works.

Dr. Root explained his purpose as follows (2):

It has been the aim of the present study to collect and examine systematically the very numerous allusions to classical mythology in the authentic works of Shakespeare, with the purpose of determining the sources from which he drew his acquaintance with the matter, the conception which he entertained of it, and the extent to which it became a vital element in his art.

He then pointed out (2) that it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the vaguer, more general allusions, that any fairly intelligent man might make, though he had never read a line of the Classics, and definite and detailed allusions (2-3):

. . . an allusion to the death of Hercules with mention of the poisoned shirt of Nessus and the fate of the page Lichas, lodged by his master on the horns of the moon, is possible only to one who has read a detailed account of the fable, such as that given by Ovid or Seneca. Though the number of these definite allusions in Shakespeare is smaller than that of the vague ones, they are yet sufficiently numerous to admit of satisfactory conclusions. Of these allusions for which a definite source can be assigned, it will be found that an overwhelming majority are directly due to Ovid, while the remainder, with few exceptions, are from Vergil. The vaguer allusions, though admitting of no confident attribution, are nearly all of such a character that they *might* have been drawn from Ovid or Vergil. In other words, a man familiar with these two authors, and with no others, would be able to make all the mythological allusions contained in the undisputed works of Shakespeare, barring some few exceptions to be considered later. Throughout, the influence of Ovid is at least four times as great as that of Vergil; the whole character of Shakespeare's mythology is essentially Ovidian.

The bulk of Shakespeare's mythology comes from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. His familiarity with every book of that poem—save, perhaps, Books 12 and 15—is clearly demonstrable. There are some indications that Shakespeare knew the *Heroides*. From the *Fasti* he drew much of his Rape of Lucrece. Says Dr. Root (4):

Sharply contrasted with the frequency and variety of Shakespeare's references to Ovid is the comparative paucity and narrow scope of his Vergilian allusion. Perhaps the restraint and delicacy of Vergil's art are less in harmony with the temper of the Elizabethan age; perhaps his story lends itself less readily to casual allusion. Only three episodes of the *Aeneid* seem to have made a deep impression on Shakespeare—the account of the fall of Troy with the stratagem of Sinon and the death of Priam, the grief of the forsaken Dido, and the infernal machinery of Vergil's Hades—episodes all of them which savor more or less of the sensational, and thus approach the prevailing taste of Shakespeare's day. Shakespeare was not content, however, with merely selecting sensational episodes; he sets to work deliberately to heighten the sensationalism.

Of Latin influence other than that of Ovid and Vergil there is very little trace (5). That Shakespeare looked into Homer is proved by the fact that several incidents of *Troilus and Cressida* are founded on the *Iliad*, and that in three or four instances a mythological allusion must be referred to the same source (5-6). Dr. Root fails to find the slightest hint of any other Greek influence (6). Shakespeare's ignorance of Hesiod is in sharpest contrast to the wide use made of Hesiod by Milton (see above, in the notice of Professor Osgood's book). Dr. Root thinks it in the highest degree probable that Shakespeare read Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the original (6-7); that he derived his mythology at second hand, through English authors, Dr. Root will not believe (7).

What conception did Shakespeare entertain of the mythology thus derived by him in the main from Ovid? Dr. Root answers this question on page 8:

He found in Ovid, and in classical mythology as a whole, what all the Renaissance found before him: a treasure-house of fascinating story wrought out in rich magnificence of detail, all but void of any deep spiritual significance. Graceful ornament and brilliant imagery he found in abundance; but for the expression of his profound meditations on the great mysteries which round our little life he found small aid. In so far as Shakespeare is a 'child of the Renaissance', a reveler in the beauty of external form, he finds Ovid congenial reading; in so far as he represents the deeper spirit which I have called Mediaevalism, he finds Ovid, and the system he learned from Ovid, quite inadequate. Shakespeare is essentially religious; Ovid is as essentially irreligious.

To the demonstration of the truth of these statements Dr. Root then addresses himself (8-13). In this demonstration he maintains that Shakespeare's use of mythological allusions is different at different periods of his work. This proposition he now employs (14-20) as "a new sort of internal evidence as to the Shakespearian authorship of a disputed play or portion of a play. . . ." Then, finally, he points out (20-22) that Shakespeare uses mythology and fables to heighten the beauty of his verse by effective simile and metaphor. But (22)

. . . the aspect of mythology which appealed most deeply to Shakespeare, which he most fully and vitally incorporated into his own thoughts, is that original aspect of the system which gives a divine personality to the great forces of nature. The sun in its rising and its setting, the 'gray-eyed dawn' and the 'black-browed night'; the procession of the seasons from 'well-apparelled April' to 'old Hiems' with his 'thin and icy crown'; 'Great Neptune's ocean' and the 'mutinous winds'; the crash of Jove's dread thunderbolt—to express his appreciation of all these, Shakespeare has constant resource to the forms of expression given us by the ancients, or, still more significantly, imitates their methods of thought without employing their exact terms.

In the pages under the caption Classical Mythology in Shakespeare Dr. Root follows essentially the plan adopted by Professor Osgood in the second part of his *monograph*. The two works afford abundant material

for the instituting of comparisons and of contrasts between the two poets.

Finally, the plays are listed in what Dr. Root believes to be the approximate chronological order, and the use made of mythology in each is indicated.

We may make reference here to a book on Ovid, the poet whose name occurs so often in the monographs of Professors Osgood and Root. In 1913, in the University of California Publications in Modern Philology 4.1-268, appeared a monograph, by R. Schevill, entitled *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*. This was reviewed, in *American Journal of Philology* 35 (1914), 330-335, by that inimitable critic, Kirby Flower Smith, whose untimely death in December last not only dealt a cruel blow to the humane and humanistic study of the Classics, but for many a classicist added a keen personal sorrow to the many burdens of a year fraught with sore trials and distress already.

Of Mr. Chislett's book it is difficult to give an account, because in Part I, *The Classical Influence in English Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1-47), the part of the book that is likely to be of interest to readers of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, the author touches briefly, all too briefly for the ordinary reader, on a vast array of authors.

He begins with definitions of Classicism, Romanticism and Realism (1-2), discusses Classicism, Romanticism and Realism in Greek and Latin Literature (2-3), passes on to a consideration of these three elements in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and Modern Times (3-5), and, finally, in English Literature (5-6). Next he discusses (8-10) *The Romantic Revolt*. Here, in forty-nine lines, he talks of Coleridge, Wordsworth, William Godwin and his circle, Shelley, Thomas Love Peacock, Keats, Byron, and Southey. On pages 11-14 he discusses Major Prose Writers, Exclusive of the Novelists; on pages 15-17, he treats 6 Major Victorian Poets; on pages 18-23, about 30 Novelists; on pages 24-32, 71 Minor Writers; etc., etc.

This rapid passing in review of so many writers leaves one rather breathless. None the less Mr. Chislett's remarks suggest boundless opportunity for personal study, in the way of checking up his statements during our own reading of the authors he names.

Mr. Chislett has evidently read widely himself, and has formed his own judgments; he has used, too, the writings of others on the themes with which he deals. The numerous footnotes are of great value.

In Section VII, entitled *Conclusion* (36-47), Mr. Chislett at first challenges statements about the study of the Classics, or the nature of the Greek spirit, made by Mr. A. C. Benson, Professor E. Vernon Arnold, Mr. John Jay Chapman, Mr. Will Hutchins, and Mr. R. W. Livingstone. But, we may ask, will any one man ever define the Greek spirit in terms which will win immediate and permanent acceptance from all other seekers of that spirit? We bring back from India,

it has been said, what we take to India; and so, in our search for the Greek spirit, what we take with us in the search—our own make-up, physical, intellectual, spiritual—we bring back again; fortunate are we if we bring back something else also. Though Mr. Chislett does not exactly see this—at least he does not state it in terms, this is, in reality, the underlying idea of the following excellent paragraph (41):

The Englishman—especially the nineteenth century Englishman—finds the Greek genius so complex that he can discover Puritanism, paganism, temperance, extravagance, tragedy, comedy, didacticism, emotionalism, classicism, romanticism or realism in it as he pleases. Landor is attracted by Epicurus, Greek lyric and elegy; Southey by Epictetus; Macaulay by Greek history and oratory; Lamb by Hesiod; Moore by Anacreon; Keats by Homer; Shelley by Plato; Peacock by Aristophanes, Lucian and Nonnus; Meredith by Menander; Rossetti by Sappho; Wilde by the Anthology; Swinburne by Sappho, Catullus, Pindar and Aeschylus; Jefferies by Diogenes Laertius; FitzGerald by Plato; Kingsley by the Alexandrians; Arnold by Homer and Empedocles; Tennyson by Virgil; Browning by Euripides and Aristophanes; Mrs. Browning by Aeschylus and Sappho; Andrew Lang by Homer and Theocritus; Thomas Hardy by Sophocles, and Robert Bridges by Aeschylus and Menander.

The next paragraphs deal with the way in which various prose writers of the nineteenth century show a Greek strain (e.g. FitzGerald put Plato into his *Euphranor*; Peacock put Lucian and Aristophanes into his novels); with translations and paraphrases; the Greek note in nineteenth century poetry; "a further triumph of nineteenth century art remains in its use of mythology"; the Roman influence, seen especially in "the interest the century felt in viewing Rome archaeologically"; and "poems and prose tales that capture or aim to capture the spirit of ancient Rome".

The final paragraph (47) runs as follows:

We have surveyed the nineteenth century by authors, summarized them and dealt with them under the different phases of the classical influence. What is our conclusion? That Greece and Rome did not die in the romantic, realistic nineteenth century nor are likely to in the unfathomed twentieth. Through philology, archaeology, interest in ancient philosophy, admiration for the graceful Greek tongue and the mosaic-like architectonic Latin, a use and not abuse of mythology, a very wide reading of ancient authors, major and minor, in the original and in translations, and finally through the vivifying of ancient life by travel and by prose and poetry embodying the ancient spirit, Greece and Rome have lived as never before, and bid fair to live while men and arts endure.

C. K.

## REMARKS ON ROMAN POETIC DICTION

(Concluded from page 182)

I will discuss one of the groups—the adjectives denoting color. Let me emphasize that I am not here presenting a full discussion of these adjectives. Space will not permit this. The purpose of the following lists and the comment upon them is a restricted one—to show what adjectives denoting color occur in that

portion of Latin covered by the investigation (approximately the period of the Republic), what adjectives in this list the poets used, why they did not use others, and lastly to determine what adjectives deserve to be classed as 'poetic'.

The term 'color' is loosely employed, for the Romans used *albus*, *niger*, *purpureus*, etc., quite as loosely as the layman nowadays uses 'white', 'black', 'red', etc. They knew nothing of the scientific classification of colors. For historical purposes the poetry of Catullus and Lucretius<sup>9</sup> has been made the starting-point, since their work affords the best opportunity of determining what was the general poetic technique of the last years of the Republic, or—in terms of our problem—what adjectives were acceptable to the poetry of the period.

Group I: 'white', 'pale'.

(1) Adjectives occurring in Catullus or Lucretius<sup>10</sup>: *albus*<sup>†</sup>, *albulus*<sup>†</sup>, *albicans*<sup>†</sup>, *candidus*<sup>†</sup>, *candens*<sup>†</sup>, *cānus*<sup>†</sup>, *niveus*<sup>†</sup>, *pallidus*<sup>†</sup>, *pallidulus*<sup>†</sup>, *pallens*<sup>†</sup>, *marmoreus* (11).

(2) Adjectives occurring in Republican prose and verse, *not* occurring as color adjectives in Catullus or Lucretius: *albens*, *albātus*, *albicēris*, *albicapillus*, *subalbus*, *subalbicans*, *dealbātus*, *buxeus*, *candidātus*, *candidulus*, *incānus*, *cānūtus*, *crētātus*, *gypsātus*, *lacteus* (15).

(3) Adjectives occurring later than the Republican period—partial list<sup>11</sup>: *albicēratu*s, *albicolor*, *albicomus*, *albidus*, *subalbidus*, *albinus*, *albineus*, *albidulus*, *peralbus*, *subalbens*, *argenteus*, *percandidus*, *praecandidus*, *succandidus*, *canens*, *praecanus*, *semicanus*, *cerussatus*, *cineraceus*, *cinereus*, *eburnus* (-eus), *lactaneus*, *lactineus*, *lacticolor*, *leucos*, *leucaspis*, *leucomus*, *perpallidus*, *vepallidus*, *suppallidus* (and about 16 others, or about 46 all told).

An approximate conception of the number of words in this group—and this applies to the other groups also—can be formed by adding (1) and (2), and by assuming that a good many of the words in (3) must have existed in the Republican period, although they do not happen to occur in the extant remains of the literature. In some cases this assumption amounts to a certainty: e.g. the proper names *Albinus*, *Canidius*,

etc., show that corresponding common adjectives existed. It is pretty safe to make the same assumption concerning such words as *albidus*, *subalbidus*, *percandidus*, etc. But of course the statistics cannot take this assumption into account.

The adjectives occurring only in poetry have the best right to be considered 'poetic': compare in (1) and (2), *albicans*, *albicapillus*, *buxeus*, *canus* (except when referring to hair), *niveus*, *pallidulus*, *pallens*, *marmoreus*, *canutus*, *incanus*. To these we may add *candens*, which, except in the meaning 'white hot' for branding, etc. (Cicero, Varro), occurs only in poetry and in two passages of elevated prose (Auctor ad Herennium, Cicero, *De Re Publica*). The remaining words in (1) belong to the common stock of prose and verse: *albus*, *albulus*, *candidus*, *pallidus*. In (2), two words, which are not used by Catullus or Lucretius to denote color, deserve to be classed as 'poetic': *albicapillus* (Plautus), *incanus* (Plautus, Vergil). Mere occurrence exclusively in verse does not, of course, prove that a word is 'poetic', but in this group there seems to be no good reason to deny the title to any of the words mentioned. Some are so rare that no history can be traced: *albicans* (once, Catullus; the case cited by the Thesaurus from Varro is a conjecture); *pallidulus* (Catullus, one case); *pallens* (Lucretius, one case). But, until the Silver Age the verb *albico* (-or) is itself poetic, Catullus certainly felt *pallidulus* (65.6) as poetic, and in the next generation Vergil, Tibullus, and Lygdamus accept *pallens*: hence the classification is reasonable.

Of the words classed as 'poetic', *candens* is probably a useful metrical equivalent for *candidus*. Ennius began the wider use of *canus* which was continued in later poetry. Bednara (A. L. L. 15.224) thinks that some dactylic poet 'invented' *niveus*: certainly the word is confined almost entirely to the work of these poets. The form of *albicapillus* (Plautus, one case) indicates that it may have become poetic in later times, although it does not occur. *incanus* (Plautus) does not occur again in Republican Latin, but it was taken up by Vergil and Ovid.

The rejected words (2) were in some cases not suited to dactylic verse; this is true of *albicēris*, *subalbicans*, *candidātus* (*albicans* is used in the difficult galliambics of Catullus 63). Some belong to formal groups which were not favored by elevated poetry: *subalbus*, *subalbicans*, *dealbātus* (compare English adjectives in -ish, 'whitish', etc.). Some are lowly technical terms: *dealbātus*, *crelātus*, *gypsātus* (craftsman's terms), *buxeus* (the color of the duck's bill, Varro); *canutus* (applied to a fish, Plautus).

Group II: 'black', 'dark', 'dusky'.

(1) Catullus, Lucretius: *āter*<sup>†</sup>, *niger*<sup>†</sup>, *caecus*<sup>†</sup>, *opācus*<sup>†</sup>, *tenēbricosus*<sup>†</sup> (5).

(2) Republican Period: *aquilus*, *subaquilus*, *atrātus*, *obatrātus*, *cāligans*, *cāliginosus*, *fuscus*, *meruleus*, *nigrans*, *nigellus*, *nigriculus*, *perniger*, *subniger*, *nocticolor*, *pullus*, *occaecātus*, *tenēbricus*, *umbrōsus* (18).

<sup>9</sup>I have used M. N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Catullianus* (Yale University Press, 1912); J. Paulson, *Index Lucretianus* (Göttingen, 1911); Merquet's *Lexicon to Caesar*, Merquet's *Lexicon to Cicero's Orations and Philosophical Works*; Varro, *Lingua Latina*, etc.; Goetz's *Index*; Varro's *Saturne Menippeae*, Riese's *Index*; Auctor ad Herennium, Marx's *Index*; Lucilius, Marx's *Index*; Ennius, Vahlen's *Index*; C. I. L. I, *Index*. These have been supplemented by the Thesaurus, Harpers' Latin Dictionary, and our own collection. Among articles which contain useful collections are Floen's *De Copiae Verborum Differentiis Inter Varia Poesis Romanae Antiquioris Genera Intercedentibus* (Dissertation, Argentoratum, 1882); K. Goetz, *Waren Die Römer Sprachblind?*, A. L. L. 14 and 15 (1906-1908).

<sup>10</sup>In this list and the others like it, below, words occurring in Catullus are marked by †; those occurring in Lucretius are marked by ‡; those occurring in both poets are marked by †‡. The words occurring only in verse are italicized. All participial adjectives are included.

<sup>11</sup>This list is added in order to give the reader an approximate idea of the total stock of color adjectives. Add (1) and (2) and (3). My remarks, of course, apply throughout this paper only to (1) and (2), unless it is otherwise specified.



(3) Later Latin—partial list: atricolor, atricapillus, cacabaceus, caligineus, coracinus, furvus, infuscus, praefuscus, suffuscus, nigricans, nigrescens, nigricolor, nigradius, internigrans, obniger, nubilus, praenubilus, obscurus, peropacus, piceus, picinus, pullatus, pulleiaceus, tenebrosus (6 or 8 others; total, about 30). (*Obscurus* is common, but it is not a real color adjective).

All the adjectives in (1) belong to the common stock of prose and verse—even the rare *tenebricosus* (Catullus, Cicero, Varro), although some phrases into which *caecus* enters (*caeca nocte*, *caeca caligine*) seem to have been confined to poetry.

In (2) *caligans* (Cicero's poetry), *nocticolor* (Laevius), and *tenebricus* (Pacuvius, Cicero's poetry) are poetic.

In the rejected class we have compounds of *per-* and *sub-* (compare Group I); the diminutives *nigellus*, *nigriculus*: technical words—*nigrans* (a breeder's term, used by Varro, of the color of the horns of cattle), probably also *atratus*, *obstratus*. *Aquilus*, *fuscus*, and *pullus* belong to the common stock, although they do not occur in Catullus or Lucretius. *Meruleus* (cf. *subaquilus*) occurs once in a jesting passage of Plautus, and probably remained a colloquial word. *Occaecatus* occurs but once (Plautus) and no inference can be made with certainty about it. *Umbrosus* belongs to the class of adjectives in *-osus* which were not liked in the elevated style. Metrical reasons excluded or helped to exclude others (including some already viewed with disfavor on other grounds): *caliginosus*, *subaquilus*, *meruleus*. *Nigrans*, a breeder's term in Varro, won a place in the elevated style in the next generation (Vergil, Ovid, Propertius).

Group III: 'blue'.

(1) Catullus, Lucretius: *caeruleus*\*†, *caeruleus*\*†, *caesius*\*†, *glaucus*†, *lividus*\*, *ferruginus*† (6).

(2) Republican Period: *cumatilis* (?) (1?).

(3) Later Latin—partial list: *aerius*, *aerinus*, *aquaticus*, *aquosus*, *caeruleans*, *caeruleatus*, *subcaeruleus*, *cyaneus*, *flucticolor*, *glaucomans*, *hyacinthinus*, *hyacinthizones*, *ianthinus*, *sublividus*, *tyrianthinus*, *venetus*, *violaceus*, *violens* (a very few others; total, about 20).

The only poetic word in (1) and (2) is *glaucus* (γλαυκός), which occurs only in Accius and Lucretius 1.719. Munro translates by 'green', but Goetz (op. cit.) shows that the predominant meaning is 'blue'.

*Lividus* and *ferruginus* occur only once each (Catullus 17.11, Lucretius 4.76), neither in a really elevated passage. They are probably not to be classed as poetic (Vergil preferred *ferrugineus* to *ferruginus*).

The one word in (2), *cumatilis*, a hybrid, is explained as 'blue' by Nonius on Plautus Epid. 233, but it may rather mean 'wavy', 'billowy'.

The other words belong to the common stock. *Caeruleus* and *caeruleus* supplement each other in verse, but there is no difference between them in meaning; some shade of blue fits nearly all the cases except when the words are applied to objects in the lower

world (cf. Goetz). *Caesius*, during the Republican period, is always applied to the color of the eyes of men or animals, and this restriction continued with one exception throughout the language; it is not a complimentary term and does not occur in really elevated passages.

Of the words in (3) *aerius* is found in Catullus and Lucretius, but not in the color meaning. *Hyacinthinus* also occurs in Catullus but only in its proper sense. *Violaceus* occurs once in Republican Latin. Plautus's *violarii*, 'dyers of violet-color', indicates that other adjectives of this group must have existed.

Group IV: 'green'.

(1) Catullus, Lucretius: *viridis*\*†, *viridans*\*†, *virens*\*†, *thalassinus*† (4).

(2) Republican Period: *herbeus* (1).

(3) Later Latin—partial list: *callainus*, *herbaceus*, *herbidus*, *herbosus*, *hyalinus*, *hyaloides*, *perviridis*, *subviridis*, *viridicans*, *pervirens*, *porraceus*, *prasinus*, *prasinatus*, *prasinianus*, *pratens*, *smaragdinus*, *smaragdineus*, *vitreus* (a very few others; total, about 20).

Only two of the words in (1) and (2) are poetic: *viridans* and *virens*, both poetic substitutes for the stock word *viridis*, and both rare. *Thalassinus* occurs only in Lucretius 4.1127 (a dressmaker's term). Munro renders by 'sea-colored' and thinks it refers to some shade of purple. Goetz classifies the word as 'blue', but he relies wrongly on Plautus, Mil. Glor. 1282 (cf. 1178, *thalassicus*). *Thalassicus* refers to the pseudo-mariner's garb, which is called *ferrugineus* in color, but it is very doubtful whether *ferrugineus* in Plautus means 'blue', and *thalassicus*, at any rate, is not a color adjective at all. I have classified *thalassinus* with this group because in Greek, when *θάλασσα* enters into words which denote color, 'green' is the usual meaning.

Of division (2) *herbeus* occurs but once (in a comic passage of Plautus); many of its forms are not adapted to dactyls. It probably remained too colloquial for dignified passages, for list (3) shows that, although several adjectives derived from *herba* were used in later times, *herbeus* is not among them.

Group V: 'yellow'.

(1) Catullus, Lucretius: *flavus*\*†, *flavens*\*, *fulvus*\*, *crocinus*\*, *aureus*\*†, *aureolus*\*, *melichrus*†, *luridus*† (8).

(2) Republican Period: *albicerus* (-ris), *gilvus*, *helveolus*, *rāvus*, *rusceus* (?) (5?).

(3) Later Latin—partial list: *auricolor*, *auricomus* (-comans), *aurosus*, *aurulentus*, *cereus*, *cerinus*, *chryseus* (-ius), *crocatius*, *croceus*, *flavescens*, *flavicomus* (-comans), *flavidus*, *fulvaster*, *galbinus*, *galbicus*, *galbus*, *helvinaceus* (-ius), *melleus*, *murreus*, *sucinaceus*, *sufflavus*, etc. (about 6 others; total, about 27).

The poetic adjectives of (1) and (2) are *fulvus*, which was also much used by later poets, *aureus* (in the color sense), *flavens* (one case only, Catullus 64.354), and possibly *crocinus* (one case only, Catullus 68.134).



Vergil uses *flavens* five times, but he prefers *croceus* to *crocinus*, apparently, for he does not use the latter at all. The last fact probably indicates nothing more than a difference of taste, however, for Catullus would certainly not have used *crocinus* in one of his most pictorial passages if the word had not been quite beyond reproach.

*Flavus* the lexicon truly calls 'mostly poetic'. Yet the word occurs once in Cato in a connection quite prosaic—to characterize the material with which some Roman matrons attained that lovely blond hair so much admired in all ages. *Aureus* is often used where *rutilus*, etc., would seem more suitable: compare our phrase 'red gold'. There is an interesting passage in Varro (De Lingua Latina 7.83) touching this point. Quoting Accius's *auroram rutilare* and etymologizing about *aurora* he says, quod ab igni tum < = before sunrise > aureo aer aurescit. Quod addit 'rutilare' est ab eodem colore: aurei enim rutili, et inde enim mulieres valde rufae 'rutilae' dictae.

*Melichrus* occurs only once (Lucretius 4.1160). It is used to describe the complexion of a lady who (in the lover's eyes) is lighter than a *nigra*, and we may feel certain that there is nothing elevated about it. *Aureolus* also occurs but once and is a convenient metrical substitute for *aureus* (Catullus 61.160). *Luridus* is common to prose and verse.

The words in (2) are all of the humdrum sort: *albicercus* (a term of the olive grove), *gilvus* and *helvetulus* (breeder's terms for the color of horses, etc.), *ravus* (a special shade—inter flavos et caesios, according to Paulus), *rusceus* (apparently the yellow secured from the dyer's broom).

#### Group VI: 'red'.

(1) Catullus, Lucretius: *ruber*†, *rubens*†, *rutilus*\*, *roseus*†, *russus*†, *pūniceus*†, *purpureus*†, *lateus*† (8):

(2) Republican Latin: *badius*, *carinus* (caruinus?), *conchyliatus*, *helvus*, *miniatus*, *miniatus*, *mustelinus* (?), *ostrinus*, *pudoricolor*, *purpuratus*, *purpurissatus*, *rubeus* (robeus), *rubicundus*, *rubricosus*, *rubidus*, *robiginosus*, *rufus*, *rufulus*, *subrufus*, *sandaracinus* (20).

(3) Later Latin—partial list: *birrus* (burrus), *cerasinus*, *coccinatus*, *coccineus*, *coccinus*, *cruentus*, *erythraeus*, *erythranus*, *erythros*, *flammeolus*, *flammi-comus* (-comans), *fuligineus*, *flammatus*, *haematinus*, *helvus*, *hepaticus*, *hepatilis*, *hepatizon*, *igneus*, *ignicans*, *ignicolor*, *luteolus*, *mineus* (minius), *ostricolor*, *punicus*, *porphyreticus*, *punicans*, *purpurans*, *rosans*, *rubifactus*, *rubellianus*, *rubellus*, *rubicundulus*, *rubricatus*, *russatus*, *russeolus*, *russeus*, *russulus*, *rutilans*, *sandaracatus*, *sanguineus*, *sanguinans*, *spadix*, *surrufus*, *surrubeus*, *surrubicundus*, *surrutilus*, *tyrianthinus*, etc. (about 6 others; total, about 54).

The only poetic words are *rubens*, *roseus*, and *pudoricolor*. *Rubens* occurs twice in Lucretius and became a favorite word of Vergil. *Pudoricolor* occurs only in Laevius; apparently it did not commend itself to other poets. Bednara (op. cit.) thinks that Catullus or Lu-

cretius invented *roseus*, but he overlooks Varro, Sat. Menipp., p. 184 R.

*Ruber*, *rutilus*, *purpureus*, *luteus* belong to the common stock, although *rutilus* was not liked by the poets. *Russus* occurs in prose or prosaic passages of verse. *Luteus* seems to mean 'reddish yellow', 'flame-colored'. *Punicus* occurs only in Lucretius in the time of the later Republic, but it was apparently a rather technical word for a certain shade of *purpura*: compare Lucretius 2.830 and Tibullus 2.3.58. *Flammeus* does not occur as a color adjective, but it must have existed: compare *flammeum*, the bride's veil.

The words listed under (2) belong to the common stock or are commonplace: *ostrinus* (later used by Propertius), *rubicundus*, *rubidus*, *robiginosus* (compare also the ending -osus), *rufus*, *rufulus*, *subrufus* (compare also the prefix). Some are technical words, like *badius*, *helvus* (breeder's terms), *conchyliatus*, *holoporphyrus* (probably dyer's terms), *miniatus* (cinnebar), *rubeus*, *rubricosus* (agricultural terms). *Mustelinus* is comic (Terence) and *miniatus* is diminutive. *Carinus* (Plautus) and *sandaracinus* (Naevius) have no history, but in Plautus's time *carinus* at least was a dressmaker's term (compare Epid. 233). About a third of this group was not adapted to dactylic verse, and as in the other groups several reasons for exclusion from elevated poetry often apply to a given word, but I have not considered it necessary to specify this in every case.

There are then 103 adjectives in the color group. Of this total 23, about 22%, may be classified as 'poetic', if we include in this list a few cases of poetic meanings of words otherwise not poetic, e.g. *aureus* in the color sense. Even if we make large allowance for accident, this result is striking and it is not far removed from the approximate result (25%) obtained for the whole collection, i.e. the average of all the groups.

This very brief outline indicates clearly a number of interesting topics: the detailed history of the words, the precise meanings or vagueness of some of them (a study in Roman optics), the relation of the adjective as a means of expressing color to other methods of expressing color (nouns, verbs, etc.), and especially the fortunes of all these words in the following generation when there is a much larger body of poetry, etc., etc.

When one considers the mass of material and the possibilities of the language, the restraint of the poets is noteworthy. The list of poetic words included few which involve a figure (*niveus*, *marmoreus*), for several in this group are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα (*albicapillus*, *pudoricolor*), and few loanwords. For a contrast to this last point glance at the lists under (3), which include the borrowings of Pliny for technical purposes. The poets do not like exact 'shades': compare our 'Alice blue', 'cerise', 'mauve', etc. A thing may be yellow or even golden or even 'yellow as a crocus' (they like a decent exaggeration), but for the most part they leave terms like

'whitish yellow' (*albicerus*) to the farmers, the artisans, the modistes, etc., until time has removed their technical stigma. Our disciples of *vers libres* are not so modest.

In conclusion, I would repeat that this paper barely touches one corner of a very large field in which there is ample room for many workers, and I hope that some at least among my readers may feel inclined to help solve its problems. If there are such prospective workers, I shall be glad to offer them any suggestions within my power.

BRVN MAWR COLLEGE.

ARTHUR L. WHEELER.

### PLUTO AND THE TRIDENT

In reference to the point raised by Professor Dunn in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.125, as to the possible classical origin of the pitch-fork as an attribute of Pluto or his attendant spirits, I wonder if anyone has called his attention to Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 563, where the God of Death in a former contest with Hercules is described as *telum tergemina cuspide praefrens*. On this, Professor Kingery writes: "The trident properly belonged to Neptune (*triplice cuspide*, Ovid, M. 12.594)". *Cuspis* is applied to Neptune's trident in Claudianus, *De Raptu Proserpinae* 2.181 (see the Thesaurus).

When Professor Dunn ascribes the development of the pitch-fork idea wholly to "works of art", I do not know whether he means ancient or modern. The attendant spirits of the Lord of the Dead seem to have carried implements of that and similar nature, according to Etruscan art, if one may judge from the illustration in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Inferi*, 4054.

What I have said is not new, but it is in the spirit of research.

SMITH COLLEGE.

F. WARREN WRIGHT.

### THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of New England was held at Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., on March 28-29. Wheaton College, for girls, is finely situated in rolling country, some thirty miles south of Boston, between Taunton and Mansfield. Wheaton College proved a most gracious host, providing, without charge, sleeping accommodations in the College dormitories for all in attendance upon the meeting, and inviting all to be its guests at luncheon and dinner on Friday, and at breakfast and luncheon on Saturday. The meeting was a distinct success in every way. The attendance was good; the papers were interesting and well presented; abundant opportunity for personal meetings and conferences, quite apart from the official sessions, was afforded; and the weather, though *varium et mutabile* with a vengeance, was after all not as desperately trying as was the weather further south, e.g. in New York City.

The programme was as follows: Welcome, by President Samuel V. Cole, Wheaton College, with response

by Professor George E. Howes, President of the Association; An English Verse Translation of Certain Scenes in the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus, by Dean Irene Nye, Connecticut College for Women; Antaeus, Mr. Horace M. Poynter, Phillips Academy, Andover (a discussion of the proper relations of School and College, in the determination of the contents and scope of the School course, the nature of examinations, etc.); Greetings from The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, Professor Charles Knapp; The One and the Many, Dr. Josiah Bridge, Westminster School (a plea to the effect that, in a democratic system of education, the opportunity to study Greek should be open to every pupil); The Second Phase of the Battle of Cunaxa, Professor Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University; The Fate of Achilles in the Iliad and the Fate of Odysseus in the Odyssey: a Unitarian Argument, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont; Greek Life in Egypt (illustrated), Mr. Alfred M. Dame, Malden High School; Organ Recital in the College Chapel, Professor H. C. Tucker, Wheaton College; Reception at the President's house, by President and Mrs. Cole; Children in Roman Life and Literature (illustrated), Professor Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College; Latin Examinations as Tests of Intelligence, Professor Nelson Glenn McCrea, Columbia University; Recognition Scenes Old and New: An Enduring Fashion in Thrills, Professor Mary Gilmore Williams, Mt. Holyoke College; The Proposed American Classical League, Dean Andrew F. West, Princeton University; An Experiment in Teaching Latin for the Sake of English, Miss Mary C. Robinson, Bangor High School; An Ancient Contemporary, or the Modern Element in the Poems of Vergil, President Samuel V. Cole, Wheaton College.

Mention may be made again of the fact that The Classical Association of New England publishes annually a Bulletin, giving information concerning the Association, and presenting abstracts of papers at its Annual Meeting. Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association.

Mr. Charles S. Knox, of Phillips Exeter Academy, was elected President, and Professor George E. Howes, Secretary-Treasurer of the Association from its beginning until a year ago, was reelected Secretary-Treasurer.

The Association voted unanimously to approve the formation of the Proposed American Classical League, provided that the Constitution of the League, if and when formed, shall definitely provide representation upon the Governing Board of the League of the four great regional Associations, said representatives to be chosen in each case by the regional Association itself. The Association also, by unanimous vote, recommended that the Constitution of the Proposed Classical League, if and when formed, should provide that the Governing Body of the League should not exceed twelve in number. Finally, the Association, by unanimous vote, authorized the incoming Executive Committee to appoint, at the proper time, a delegate to represent the Association at the next meeting of the National Education Association, to be held in Milwaukee, in July next, said delegate to represent the Association also at the Classical Conference to be held in connection with this meeting of the National Education Association, and to be, finally, the representative of The Classical Association of New England on the Governing Board of the American Classical League, if the Constitution of said League shall provide for such representation.

The report of Professor M. N. Wetmore, Secretary-Treasurer for 1918, showed that the Association enjoyed a prosperous year, that it made a net gain in membership and in available funds.

C. K.

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